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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	CPR-02	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00
	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01
	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SSC-01	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	RPE-01	/041W			

-----29687E 251651Z /38

O 251647Z FEB 94  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5820  
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 00833

BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW  
PARIS FOR PERLOW  
YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
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TAGS: PGOV, RW  
SUBJECT: GATABAZI'S FUNERAL; PRESIDENT'S NEW  
INITIATIVE

REF: KIGALI 0830

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: CALM APPEARS TO REIGN IN KIGALI THE DAY  
AFTER MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS GATABAZI WAS BURIED  
OUTSIDE THE SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY TOWN OF BUTARE.

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MBANWHILE, HABYARIMANA HAS CONVENED A MEETING OF POLITICAL LEADERS TO LOOK AT THE CONTINUING GOVERNMENTAL CRISIS. THE PRESIDENT APPARENTLY INTENDS TO SET UP ALTERNATIVE GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS, BUT I WARNED HIS ADVISORS OF THE DANGERS IN SUCH ACTION. UN SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS BOUTROS GHALI ALSO CALLED THE PRESIDENT NIGHT 2/24 URGING HIM TO PROCEED WITH TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS. END SUMMARY.

3. RWANDAN CLERGY AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS CONDUCTED THE FUNERAL OF FELICIEN GATABAZI, MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS, IN SOLEMN DIGNITY AT THE BUTARE REGIONAL STADIUM. IN ADDITION TO REPRESENTATIVES FROM ALL MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE PRESIDENCY, MOURNERS INCLUDED RPF'S BIZIMUNGU AND TITO RUTAREMARA AND COMS FROM FRANCE, BELGIUM, SWITZERLAND, UNICEF AND MYSELF.

4. THE MECHANISMS SET UP TO HANDLE AN OVERFLOW CROWD AND LEAD THEM THROUGH A LENGTHY MASS AND INTERMENT  
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CEREMONIES DEMONSTRATED RWANDAN CAPACITY TO DO THINGS RIGHT IF THEY SO DESIRE. THE FUNERAL PREPARATIONS ALSO SHOWED HOW MUCH OF RWANDAN POLITY AND CIVIL SOCIETY IS STILL INTACT. GENDARMERIE SMARTLY PERFORMED THEIR POLICING ROLES, THE ARMY PROVIDED AN HONOR COMPANY, POLITICIANS OF ALL STRIPE PARTICIPATED IN THE CEREMONIES. THE MASS WAS LED BY A TUTSI BISHOP WHO HAD BEEN GATABAZI'S TEACHER MANY YEARS AGO AND SPOKE OF HIM AS A SON.

5. ON RETURN TO KIGALI AFTER THE FUNERAL AND INTERMENT AT SAVE MISSION STATION (RWANDA'S OLDEST CATHOLIC MISSION), I FOUND THAT RTLM (PRO-HABYARIMANA RADIO) HAD PUBLICLY DISCUSSED THE POSSIBILITY OF A GOVERNMENTAL CHANGE AS THE RESULT OF PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH PARTY OFFICIALS TODAY. WE HAD NOT PREVIOUSLY DISCERNED THAT THE PRESIDENT INTENDED TO USE THIS ALL-PARTY GATHERING TO FORM A NEW GOVERNMENT.

6. AFTER NUMEROUS EFFORTS, I FINALLY REACHED THE PRESIDENT'S LEGAL ADVISER AND CABINET DIRECTOR. I TOLD THEM BOTH THAT THE RWANDAN POLITICAL SYSTEM HAD ENTERED A NEW ORDER WHEN THE PRESIDENT WAS SWORN IN AS PART OF THE ARUSHA INTERIM ARRANGEMENT ON 1/5. WE

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NOW LIVED IN A POLITICAL VACUUM THAT COULD ONLY BE  
FILLED BY PROCEEDING TO INSTALL THE INTERIM  
GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. ANY GOVERNMENT SET  
UP OTHERWISE MIGHT BE CONTRARY TO THE CONSTITUTION  
AND THE FUNDAMENTAL LAW (THE ARUSHA ACCORD).

7. THE LEGAL COUNSELOR TRIED TO ARGUE THAT THE  
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ARUSHA ACCORD COULD BE INTERPRETED IN TWO DIFFERENT  
WAYS. I URGED HIM NOT TO ELABORATE LEGAL  
JUSTIFICATIONS BUT TO UNDERSTAND THE IMPORT OF WHAT I  
WAS TRYING TO COMMUNICATE. I WAS NOT A LAWYER, BUT I  
KNEW WE HAD A LAW WHICH PROHIBITED ASSISTANCE TO  
UNCONSTITUTIONAL REGIMES. I WOULD CERTAINLY HAVE TO  
QUERY WASHINGTON REGARDING OUR COOPERATION WITH ANY  
GOVERNMENT OTHER THAN A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT UNDER  
THE ARUSHA ACCORD. I WANTED TO GET THIS MESSAGE TO  
THE PRESIDENT, NOT AS A DICTATE OR CHALLENGE, BUT SO  
THAT HE WAS FULLY INFORMED ON THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE  
ISSUE UNDER CONSIDERATION AND WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED

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BY ANY SUBSEQUENT U.S. ACTIONS. IN THE NEXT CALL,  
CABINET DIRECTOR RUHIGIRA TOOK NOTE OF MY COMMENTS  
AND WENT IMMEDIATELY TO THE POLITICAL GATHERING. HE  
WAS ALREADY AWARE THAT THE ONLY STEP WE WOULD  
CONSIDER JUSTIFIED WAS A INITIATIVE TO INSTALL THE  
INTERIM GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS.

8. WHEN THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S SPECIAL  
REPRESENTATIVE BOOH BOOH RETURNED MY CALL AFTERNOON  
2/25, I INFORMED HIM OF WHAT I HAD TOLD THE  
PRESIDENT'S COUNSELORS. HE SAID THAT UN SECRETARY  
GENERAL BOUTROS BOUTROS GHALI HAD CALLED THE  
PRESIDENT THE NIGHT BEFORE AND, THOUGH HE COULD NOT  
REVEAL ALL THAT HAD BEEN SAID, THE SECRETARY GENERAL  
HAD URGED THE PRESIDENT TO STOP DALYING AND GET THE  
INTERIM INSTITUTIONS ESTABLISHED. BOOH BOOH SAID  
THAT UN VIEW ON THIS PRIORITY COINCIDED PRECISELY  
WITH OURS.

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9. CALM HAS RETURNED TO KIGALI. THE STREETS SEEM BACK TO NORMAL. AT A TOWN MEETING NOON 2/25, WE SAW OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL AMERICANS FROM ALL OVER TOWN. THE PREFECTURE, AFTER A LONG MEETING ON SECURITY, HAS DECIDED TO CONTINUE THE CURFEW THROUGH THE WEEKEND. WE WILL MAINTAIN REGULAR UPDATES ON THE SITUATION TO THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY THROUGH OUR WARDEN NET.

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10. COMMENT: WE CAN HOPE THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S CALL TO THE PRESIDENT AND MY OWN WARNING SHOTS ACROSS THE BOW DETERRED HIM FROM TRYING TO RECREATE GOVERNMENT OUTSIDE THE ARUSHA CONTEXT, BUT WE WILL HAVE TO AWAIT THE RESULTS OF TODAY'S MEETING. RPF IS MEETING WITH MDR FACTION OF FORMER PRIME MINISTER NSENGIYAREMYE AT OUR RESIDENCE TOMORROW AT 10:00 A.M. IN ANOTHER CONFIDENCE-BUILDING EXERCISE. I WILL SOLICIT THEIR VIEWS AT THAT TIME.

11. WE WERE VERY CLOSE TO A GLOBAL AGREEMENT ON MONDAY. SOMEONE CLEARLY DID NOT WANT INSTITUTIONS TO BE INSTALLED AND TOOK DRACONIAN MEASURES TO PREVENT THIS. IT IS DISCONCERTING TO HEAR RWANDANS BLAME, WITH EQUAL FERVOR, THE PRESIDENT, THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE OR THE RPF. THIS DISPUTE ABOUT WHO WOULD WANT TO KILL GATABAZI IS BUT A REFLECTION OF THE DEEP DISTRUST THAT STILL SEPARATES THE PUTATIVE PARTNERS IN THE RWANDAN PEACE PROCESS. YET THE CENTRAL COHESION OF RWANDAN SOCIETY AND ITS CAPACITY FOR GOOD HAS BEEN DEMONSTRATED IN ITS DIGNIFIED FAREWELL TO PUBLIC WORKS MINISTER GATABAZI. THE IMPRESSIONS OF THAT EVENT MAKE THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORD WORTH OUR CONSTANT EFFORT AND CONTINUING PRESSURE ON RWANDANS TO GET THE INSTITUTIONS IN PLACE. END COMMENT. RAWSON

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